1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

does not hurt the dignity of the wife to be turned down, whereas it would make the man lose face.

Those familiar with village family life point out that wife beating is almost a thing of the past because women are learning that this is not the general rule and need not be endured. When I asked groups of young men whom I interviewed whether they thought they would ever beat their wives, one man said, "I probably will if I get drunk." Several said that they would beat her if she was not good, but they had a hard time defining what they meant by being "good." Another young man pointed out, "If my wife does not behave, I will make suggestions. If she doesn't change her ways, then I'll beat her." Beating, then, is no pastime but a last resort for keeping a wife in line. From time to time, a village woman may threaten to sue for divorce, but this is generally interpreted in the village as a desire on her part "to be fashionable" rather than as a way out of a bad bargain. Divorces are still under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and are very difficult to obtain. The growing legal rights of women as well as the social changes under way are making the woman, as well as her husband, think of herself as a human being and not as property to be owned and ordered about. This holds true in the villages as well as in the cities.

In 1952 the women were first given the right to vote in national elections, but they are rarely elected to an office and seldom make their way into governmental positions traditionally held by men. Village men generally agree that it is proper for women to have the vote but maintain that their women are not sufficiently educated to use the ballot wisely. In Attica a villager said that the women of his village were not yet "ripe" enough to be members of the local council, but then he added: "But we men just don't like the idea — that's nearer the truth." This lack of "ripeness" was interesting in view of the fact that in 1930 women won the right to vote in municipal elections if they could read and write and were over thirty years of age. In 1949 this was changed to allow any woman twenty-one years of age to vote, even if illiterate, in municipal elections.[9]

Nevertheless, any peasant woman who wants to get along with her husband had best concern herself with her household duties and assist in the farm tasks as best she can. Very much preoccupation with "women's rights" would tend to make her a spectacle in the village, thereby subjecting her husband to much teasing by the other men. If there is a public meeting, she is not supposed to attend, although she may stand with other women on the edge of the square to see the notables arrive and to watch proceedings from a distance. Americans connected with the United States Mission to Greece have adopted the tactic of trying to draw the women into more active participation in these public meetings and have been fairly successful in some of the villages where they have worked most intensively.

The patterns of deference required of women and their so-called rights

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her.

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

1:Sanders Z-5,1 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Turks do not receive dowries from their brides but have to pay a deposit in advance for the wife-to-be. When a divorce occurs, the wife's family keeps the money if the man is to blame, but is supposed to give the money to the man or his family if the woman is to blame.

2. See "Women in Greece Demand Equality," *New York Times*, August 22, 1954. Some indication of the changing status of women, particularly in the cities, is found in the periodical *Hellenia: The Voice of Greek Women*, published in English in Athens by four of the leading women's organizations: National Council of Greek Women, Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Hellenic Association of University Women, and Hellenic Girl Guides Association. Also see Panos D. Bardis, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19–23.

3. See K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938).

4. Occipital flattening occurs in Epirus. This shape is not particularly sought, according to informants in Ioannina, the provincial capital, but results because the Epirote mother does not take the time to change the child from side to side so that the different parts of the head press against the cradle board. They go about their work and leave the child to cry for hours. Epirote men also seem to prefer the type of haircut that accentuates their particular headshape. It was interesting to find that many educated Greeks in Athens thought the Epirote head an inherited biological trait and not the result of child-care practice.

5. D. Lee, "Greece," in *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, 1953), p. 87 (Mentor edition).

6. UNRRA, *Greece: Ripe for Improvement* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 10.

7. Z. D. Ferriman, *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), pp. 181–82.

8. Kitsos A. Makres, *Pelionitikes Phoresies* (Volos, 1949). He has made a special study of the art themes on the heads of shepherd crooks: ram's heads, dove feeding a snake, various sitting figures, to mention a few.

9. Angelique Hadjimihali, *L'Art populaire grec* (Athens, 1937). See also her article in the *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, X (1934), 827–844.

10. See also D. Loukopoulos, *Pos hyphainoun kai dynontae oi Aitoloi* (How the Aetolians Weave and Dress) (Athens, 1927).

11. Throughout Greece there are various customs related to "feeding the fountain." Women may bring cheese, butter, bread, to leave at the fountain and say, "As the water runs, may animals and crops be abundant and prosperous."

12. Economic Cooperation Administration Mission to Greece, *The I.K.A. Insurance Population*, November 1951 (mimeographed).

13. J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910) p. 21.

14. D. Loukopoulos, "Symmikta laographika en Aitolias" (Collection of Folklore Materials about Aetolia), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 7–11, 47–61. The Spetsai materials came from personal interviews with Chrysoula.

15. Mutual Security Agency Mission to Greece, *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*, June 1952.

16. Ernestine Friedl, "Hospital Care in Provincial Greece," *Human Organization*, XVI (Winter 1958), p. 25.

17. *Ibid.*, 26.

Chapter VIII. Courtship and Marriage

1. K. M. Kalyves, *Laographika Kymes Euboias* (Concerning the Folklore of Kyme, Euboea) (Athens, 1938), pp 27–30.

2. Panos D. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family During the Early Twentieth Century," *Alpha Kappa Deltan*, Winter 1956, p. 17. Indicative of this double standard is prostitution, which is found in the town or city, although no houses of

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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lives in his wife's village and has married a girl from his own settlement and, therefore, has land near the groom's village. A farmer husband may even be willing to consider the sale of the land in his wife's village to make a good purchase nearer home. Neither of these possibilities may come to fruition for years, so that they may remain subjects for long-term discussion between a man and his father- and brothers-in-law. To summarize the situation, land given as one part of the dowry and village exogamy have the consequence of stimulating land exchanges and sales in the Boeotian countryside, of stimulating the visits of men among the villages in the region with a consequent exchange of views and ideas, and of providing an economic focus for maintaining some kind of relationships between affinal relatives, that is relatives by marriage. The system of transferring land as dowry has the effect also of permitting a man to utilize his wife's property throughout his married life instead of having to wait to do so until after his wife's father's death.

The actions of the villagers and the tone in which they discuss these questions suggest that although there is some sentiment attached to the land inherited from a father and to the land that were parts of a mother's dowry, the symbolic value of particular parcels of land as a link between generations does not usually take precedence over the economic value of the land as an income and food producer.

We have still to consider the question of the ultimate disposition of dower properties in marriages between farmers. The Greek Civil Code states that dower property must be accounted for separately from that owned or eventually inherited by the husband, and as we have seen, stipulates that the consent of the wife is required before dower property can be sold or exchanged. If there is a divorce, the wife is entitled to the return of the dower property or of its equivalent. In the house of the groom's father, the newly married couple is given a room in which they and, later, their children sleep. Here the bride's trousseau gives the room a personal touch. Both the young people work on the farm holdings of the groom's father along with his father, mother, and brothers, and unmarried sisters. They also work on the young wife's dower lands. The income from these may be pooled with that from the paternal holdings but need not be. The young husband's father has jurisdiction over the ordinary living expenses of the entire household and distributes the cash needed for purchases of clothing, food, and household equipment. During the lifetime of his father, the cash portion of the dowry may be invested by the son in additional land or in some other capital equipment such as a diesel pump. Under no circumstances do the villagers consider it proper to sell dower lands or to use dower funds for ordinary living expenses. Only the need for money for a very serious illness or for some other emergency is felt to justify such action. In whatever form, the dowry is considered capital which may be invested or saved to add to the estate available for the newly married couple's children.

After the death of the husband's father, the young man continues to live with his brothers, most of whom are likely to be married by now, until they decide to separate and divide the patrimony. This now consists of the property their father inherited from his father's patrimony, the dower property of their

/26 cont./

Illegitimacy. During the 16 years of their settlement in this village no case of illegitimacy has occurred. Cases of this kind are ostracized and are looked upon as very immoral. The morals are very strict and their observance is mutual by both men and women. 848 [626] [834]

Permanence of Marriage. Under the Greek Orthodox church it is hard to get any kind of divorce. No divorce has so far occurred in the village and seldom is there any chance for divorces. Since the women are pre-occupied the year around with house work, farm work and raising children there is not much time left to think /27/ about divorces. There was one case only that had an excuse that his wife could not bear any children. Since he was the only male in the family he thought the family name would disappear without any children. This was not a good excuse for a divorce so he had to live on with his wife. 586

Educational Function. The family life is the education function. Neither society or the government has much influence as the family traditions have on their children. The influence is so strong that even after marriage the son, according to the existing traditions, works for the father and carefully executes all his orders. The girls learn from their mothers embroidery work, cooking, baking, washing, weaving, spinning, and all those jobs that are expected from a grown up girl. 868 593

The different vocations which are taught in school in many countries, are here under the guidance of the mother and entirely under family supervision.

The son learns the art of manual work in the fields from his father. When very young he follows carefully his father and by the time he is 14 years old he knows more or less the routine side of farming.

The moral training of the children rests with the grandparents. They have more influence and more exper/28/ience of moulding the lives of the children. 867 603

The grandfather with his numerous heroic stories starts to influence the life and the future of the boy. His climax ends [538] [702]